

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 USNATO 06660

LIMDIS

PLEASE PASS TO WHITE HOUSE

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: OREP, NATO

SUBJECT: VISIT OF SENATE MAJORITY LEADER BYRD TO NATO

1. SUMMARY. SENATOR ROBERT C. BYRD (D. WEST VIRGINIA) HAD A SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO NATO ON JULY 3. HE HAD BRIEFINGS AT USNATO AND A LONG DISCUSSION WITH SYG LUNS IN THE MORNING, WENT TO SHAPE HEADQUARTERS FOR LUNCHEON WITH GENERAL HAIG AND DISCUSSIONS THERE, RETURNED TO BRUSSELS IN THE AFTERNOON FOR A PRESS CONFERENCE AND WAS ENTERTAINED AT DINNER BY THE AMBASSADOR WITH A REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF THE NATO COMMUNITY. SENATOR BYRD IMPRESSED ALL WHO MET HIM WITH HIS DETAILED KNOWLEDGE OF NATO ISSUES, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF HIS POSITION IN THE AMERICAN STRUCTURE DID NOT GO UNNOTICED HERE. HE GAVE STRONG SUPPORT TO THE PRESIDENT'S NATO POLICIES, AND SYG LUNS IN REPORTING ON THE VISIT TO THE FULL NATO COUNCIL DESCRIBED THE BYRD VISIT AS A MOST IMPORTANT ONE BY A HIGHLY INTELLIGENT AND ARTICULATE AMERICAN LEGISLATOR WHO HAD BROUGHT WELCOME REASSURANCES OF STRONG CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR NATO. SENATOR BYRD WAS CAUTIOUS ON THE PROSPECTS FOR SALT II. END SUMMARY.

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2. PRINCIPAL MEETING AT NATO WAS SENATOR BYRD'S LONG CONVERSATION WITH SYG LUNS, WHICH WAS EXTENDED FROM THE 30 MINUTES SCHEDULED TO ONE HOUR AND TWENTY MINUTES. IN JOINING THE AMBASSADOR TO CALL ON LUNS, SENATOR BYRD WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THREE MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY GOODBY OF STATE. THE SENATOR AND

THE SYG HIT IT OFF WELL, AND MEETING ENDED WITH EXCHANGE OF WARM COMPLIMENTS BETWEEN THE TWO MEN. THESE WERE REPEATED AT EVENING DINNER AND AT JULY 4TH LUNCHEON OF NAC (US HOST) LUNS REPORTED TO COUNCIL ON HIS TALKS WITH BYRD. HE DESCRIBED BYRD AS MOST ARTICULATE AND RESPONSIBLE MAN AND SAID HE HAD DERIVED GREAT REASSURANCE FROM BYRD'S STATEMENT AND FROM BYRD'S OBVIOUS INTEREST AND THOROUGH KNOWLEDGE OF NATO, DISARMAMENT AND ENERGY ISSUES. MAIN POINTS OF LUNS-BYRD MEETING FOLLOW.

3. SENATOR BYRD OPENED CONVERSATION BY STATING THAT HE WAS VISITING NATO AS PRESIDENT CARTER'S PERSONAL EMISSARY AND REPRESENTATIVE AS WELL AS MAJORITY LEADER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE. HE WOULD SPEAK TO THE ISSUES IN BOTH CAPACITIES. HE TOLD LUNS THERE IS AN UNQUESTIONED COMMITMENT TO NATO AND TO MUTUAL DEFENSE WITH OUR NATO ALLIES IN THE US TODAY. AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE SENATE SUPPORTS THIS COMMITMENT. THERE NO LONGER EXISTS THE TYPE OF SENTIMENT REPRESENTED IN EARLIER YEARS BY THE MANSFIELD AMENDMENT CALLING FOR WITHDRAWAL OF US TROOPS FROM EUROPE. BYRD ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD AT ONE TIME SUPPORTED THE MANSFIELD AMENDMENT. HOWEVER HE HAD STUDIED THE ISSUE AND HAD BECOME CONVINCED THAT A STRONG NATO IS IN THE US NATIONAL INTEREST. JOINT ALLIED DEFENSE IS IN THE INTEREST OF US ALL. HE WOULD NO LONGER SUPPORT MANSFIELD-TYPE LANGUAGE, AND THIS SENTIMENT HAS ALL BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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DISAPPEARED FROM THE SENATE. APPROPRIATIONS TO BE VOTED BY THE SENATE WILL SHOW THE EXTENT OF OUR UNQUESTIONED COMMITMENT TO NATO.

4. THE SENATOR THEN REFERRED TO THE LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF FOLLOW-THROUGH ON THAT PROGRAM WHICH HAD BEEN ADOPTED AT THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT. IN GETTING APPROVAL OF THE LTDP THE ALLIANCE HAD REALIZED ITS DREAM; NOW WE MUST BUILD FOUNDATIONS UNDER THE CASTLE. THE SYG SHOULD HAVE NO DOUBT THAT IN THE US SENATE THERE IS A LARGE MAJORITY WHICH SUFFERS NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT A CERTAIN COUNTRY, OR SEVERAL COUNTRIES WHOSE NAMES IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO MENTION. IT IS THEREFORE IN THE HIGHEST INTEREST OF ALL OF US THAT WE PROCEED VIGOROUSLY TO IMPLEMENT THE LTDP. THE SENATOR WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THE SYG'S VIEWS AND HOW THE UNITED STATES MIGHT HELP.

5. SYG LUNS EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR SENATOR BYRD'S REMARKS REGARDING THE COMMITMENT TO NATO. HE COMMENTED THAT THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT HAD BEEN A SUCCESS, AND INDEED A GREAT PERSONAL SUCCESS FOR PRESIDENT CARTER. HE PAID

TRIBUTE TO THE PRESIDENT FOR DEFUSING PERSONALLY WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN AN UGLY CONFRONTATION BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. THE PRESIDENT'S SENSITIVITY TO THE ISSUE AND THE FORTHRIGHT WAY HE HAD APPROACHED IT AND COMMITTED HIMSELF TO REMOVAL OF THE TURKISH EMBARGO IN FRONT OF HIS FELLOW HEADS OF GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN REMARKED ON BY THE OTHER ALLIES LUNS SAID HE WOULD NOW LIKE TO SPEAK TO THE LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM FROM THE EUROPEAN POINT OF VIEW.

6. THE SYG POINTED OUT THAT HE HAS NO POWER IN HIS OWN

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RIGHT. HE IS THE SERVANT OF THE 15 NATIONS. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LTDP WILL BE UP TO THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. HE FORESAW THAT COUNTRIES WOULD MOVE AT A DIFFERENT PACE. SOME WOULD PROCEED TO PUSH THE PROGRAM THROUGH THEIR PARLIAMENTS IN SHORT ORDER. OTHERS LIKE PORTUGAL HAVE ENORMOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND WE HAVE TO BE MINDFUL OF THEIR DIFFICULTY. HE REFERRED TO THE "MERCURIAL CHARACTER" OF PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU OF CANADA AND WAS CRITICAL OF THE LATTER'S EFFORTS TO "CURRY FAVOR" WITH THE NON-ALIGNED IN HIS STATEMENTS AT THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT CANADA WOULD OPT OUT OF HER NUCLEAR TASKS IN THE ALLIANCE. HE ASSERTED THAT TRUDEAU IN FACT WAS GOING BACK ON EARLIER COMMITMENTS UNDERTAKEN BY CANADA. THE PURCHASE OF PLANES FOR USE IN MARITIME DEFENSE HAS BEEN DEFERRED AND CANADIAN FLEET MODERNIZATION IS GOING VERY SLOWLY. THE CANADIAN BUDGET OF ONLY 2 TO 2-1/2 PERCENT DEVOTED TO DEFENSE IS THE SMALLEST PERCENTAGE IN THE ALLIANCE. EVEN LUXEMBOURG DOES BETTER THAN CANADA.

7. BELGIUM -- LUNS STRESSED THE DIFFICULT POLITICAL SITUATION WHICH NOW OBTAINS IN BELGIUM, WITH ITS COALITION

GOVERNMENT HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON SOCIALIST SUPPORT. THE BELGIAN SOCIALISTS HAVE IN HIS VIEW LOOKED IN THE DIRECTION OF MITTERAND OF FRANCE FOR THEIR POLITICAL VIEWS. CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN THE COALITION GOVERNMENT HAD LED
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TO PRIME MINISTER TINDERMAN'S RECENT EFFORT TO RESIGN. THE CRISIS HAS BEEN PATCHED UP FOR THE MOMENT, BUT LUNS FEARS IT WILL BE AT THE EXPENSE OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES WHICH BELGIUM SHOULD BE UNDERTAKING. HE THINKS BELGIAN ELECTIONS QUITE POSSIBLE IN OCTOBER. THE BELGIAN ARMY IS "NOT BAD" CONVENTIONALLY, AND THEY HAVE 33 THOUSAND MEN EAST OF THE RHINE. HOWEVER, THERE IS A MOVE AFOOT NOW TO REDUCE ARMY SERVICE TO SIX MONTHS. IF SUCCESSFUL, THAT WILL GREATLY COMPLICATE THE EFFORTS TO WORK FOR A MORE PROFESSIONAL ARMY. HOWEVER HE BELIEVES THE BELGIANS WILL MEET THEIR COMMITMENT TO INCREASE DEFENSE EXPENDITURES IN REAL TERMS BY 3 PERCENT.

8. NETHERLANDS -- LUNS COMMENTED THERE HAS BEEN A "MIRACULOUS CHANGE" IN GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES. FOLLOWING THE LONG GOVERNMENT CRISIS OF LAST YEAR AND THE UNEXPECTED COMING TO POWER OF A COALITION OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND CONSERVATIVES, THE NEW DUTCH GOVERNMENT IS VERY POSITIVE ON DEFENSE. IT ACCEPTED THE 3 PERCENT INCREASE AT THE SUMMIT AND WENT AHEAD AND PUSHED IT THROUGH PARLIAMENT ONLY TWO WEEKS AFTER THE SUMMIT -- PROBABLY A RECORD IN DUTCH POLITICAL HISTORY. THEY HAVE AGREED TO A NUCLEAR ROLE FOR LANCE MISSILES ON THEIR TERRITORY FOR THE FIRST TIME, THEY HAVE INCREASED THE NUMBER OF F-16S THEY ARE PURCHASING, AND THEY ARE IMPROVING THE DUTCH NAVY AT GREAT COST, WITH NEW SUBMARINES. THEY INTEND TO REDUCE THE OVERALL GOVERNMENT BUDGET, BUT THE DEFENSE BUDGET WILL GO UP.

9. FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY -- LUNS SAID YOU CAN COUNT ON THEM. HE DESCRIBED DEFENSE MINISTER APEL AS A GOOD MAN, ALTHOUGH NEW TO HIS TASKS. HE HAS NOT HESITATED TO CHANGE HIS MIND AND DEPART FROM POSITIONS HE HELD
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PREVIOUSLY AS MINISTER OF FINANCE, AND HE IS ALREADY MUCH RESPECTED BY THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP, WHICH WAS VERY FOND OF HIS PREDECESSOR, MINISTER LEBER. THE GERMANS ARE PLAYING AN INCREASING ROLE, AND A RESPONSIBLE ROLE.

10. FRANCE -- DESPITE FRENCH DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE OF COMMAND, HAS DONE MORE THAN MOST ON HER DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. THERE WAS A 15 PERCENT RISE LAST YEAR, FOR INSTANCE, AND THERE WILL BE AN INCREASE AGAIN THIS YEAR. THE FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE WHICH LUNS HAS VISITED, WHILE NOT TO BE COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE UNITED STATES OF COURSE, IS NEVERTHELESS IMPRESSIVE. IT HAS REACHED THE POINT THAT IT IS A REAL FORCE DE DISSUASION.

11. NORWAY -- NORWAY IS NOT BOOMING ECONOMICALLY AS THEY HAD EXPECTED FROM THEIR OIL PROSPECTS BUT THEY ARE GOING AHEAD IN A STEADY WAY TO CARRY OUT THEIR COMMITMENTS. DENMARK IS IMPROVING HER NAVY. HERE THERE IS QUIET PROGRESS UNDER A FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF THEIR PARLIAMENT.

12. ITALY GENERALLY IS IN A SORRY STATE OF AFFAIRS, SAID LUNS, BUT THANKFULLY THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IS IN THE BEST SHAPE OF ANY ELEMENT OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT. PARLIAMENT HAS PASSED THE NECESSARY MILITARY LAWS. THE ADVANTAGE OF THIS IS THEY CAN NOW GO AHEAD AND IMPLEMENT THE LAWS AND BUILD THEIR DEFENSES WITHOUT HAVING TO GO BACK TO PARLIAMENT EACH TIME. THEIR LUPO DESTROYERS ARE GOOD AND THEY ARE BUILDING A SMALL CARRIER, THE GARIBALDI. LUNS HAD PERSONALLY OBSERVED THE ITALIAN ALPINI TROOPS IN WINTER MANEUVERS IN NORWAY AND THEY HAD PERFORMED WELL UNDER DIFFICULT CONDITIONS.

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13. PORTUGAL DOES THE BEST IT CAN IN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. PORTUGAL IS IN VERY BAD SHAPE ECONOMICALLY. HE WAS GLAD TO REPORT THAT US AID IS GOING NICELY, AND THE FRG IS NOW GIVING SOME HELP AS WELL. THE PORTUGUESE BRIGADE WILL BE AT THE SERVICE OF NATO. WE MUST BE

RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF PORTUGAL AND SUPPORTIVE OF HER.

14. UNITED KINGDOM IS IN BAD SHAPE FINANCIALLY BUT HAS KEPT THE NATO PROGRAM INTACT. HOWEVER SHE IS WEAKER OVERALL SINCE SHE HAS REDUCED AND ABOLISHED FORCES ELSEWHERE. THE BRITISH NAVY IS STILL A GOOD FIGHTING FORCE, THIRD IN SIZE IN THE WORLD. THREE SMALL CARRIERS ARE ON THE WAY, ALONG WITH DESTROYERS AND NUCLEAR SUBMARINES. HERE THE SECRETARY GENERAL INTERPOLATED TO MAKE THE POINT THAT US ALLIES ARE INDIGNANT OVER THE MC MAHON ACT AND ITS RESTRICTIONS ON COOPERATION WITH ALLIES IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD. FOR INSTANCE, SAID LUNS, PROVISIONS OF THAT ACT HAVE HAD THE EFFECT OF KEEPING NATO COUNTRIES SUCH AS THE NETHERLANDS FROM DEVELOPING NUCLEAR SUBMARINES. THE ACT MAY HAVE BEEN WELL-MEANT IN ITS ORIGINAL PURPOSE, BUT IT HAS WORKED TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF US ALL.

15. TURKEY AND GREECE -- THE SYG MADE, AS HE HAS TO OTHER VISITORS, A STRONG PITCH FOR REMOVAL OF THE TURKISH EMBARGO. HE EXPRESSED DISTRESS THAT IT IS STILL IN EFFECT. CONFIDENTIAL

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HE COMMENTED THAT IT HAS NOT ACTUALLY MEANT ALL THAT MUCH IN MILITARY TERMS BUT IT HAS BECOME SUCH AN EMOTIONAL ISSUE IN TURKEY THAT FAILURE TO THE US CONGRESS TO LIFT THE EMBARGO CAN HAVE DIRE RESULTS. HE CONSIDERED THE GREEK-AMERICAN LOBBY ILL-INFORMED, AND ALSO ILL-ADVISED IN ITS STRONG CAMPAIGN WITH THE CONGRESS TO RETAIN THE EMBARGO.

16. NUCLEAR AFFAIRS OF THE ALLIANCE -- LUNS SAID HE WOULD NOW TURN TO NUCLEAR ISSUES. HE RECALLED THAT DURING HIS TALK WITH PRESIDENT CARTER IN WASHINGTON ON MAY 30 HE HAD STRESSED THAT THE GREAT BARRIER TO WAR IS THE US NUCLEAR DETERRENT. CHOU EN LAI WAS RIGHT WHEN HE SAID THAT THE AMERICAN NUCLEAR DETERRENT IS THE GUARANTEE OF PEACE. IN LUNS' VIEW, IT IS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE THAT THE KREMLIN REMAIN UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW MUCH DAMAGE THE UNITED STATES WOULD DO THEM IN THE EVENT OF, GOD FORBID, A NUCLEAR EXCHANGE. LUNS SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO SPEAK FRANKLY AND SAY THAT HE FEARS THAT NOT ALL EUROPEANS ARE SO SURE NOW OF US INTENTIONS FOLLOWING THE US DECISION IN APRIL ON THE NEUTRON BOMB. HE SAID HE WOULD SPEAK CANDIDLY -- MOST ALLIES IN HIS OPINION WOULD LIKE THE UNITED STATES TO GO AHEAD AND PRODUCE THE NEUTRON DEVICE, WHATEVER THEY MAY THINK NOW AS TO ITS FUTURE DEPLOYMENT. IN HINDSIGHT, IT WAS A MISTAKE TO HAVE ASKED THE ALLIES TO SHARE IN THE NEUTRON DECISION. IT MADE GREAT DIFFICULTIES FOR A NUMBER OF GOVERNMENTS AND

THE COMPLICATIONS OF THE ISSUE MADE IT EASY TO INFLAME PUBLIC OPINION. THE SOVIETS HAD UNDERTAKEN A MASSIVE CAMPAIGN, AND IT HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL. SINCE EVERYONE RECOGNIZED THAT THE DECISION TO PRODUCE WAS A DECISION FOR THE UNITED STATES ALONE, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT OF SHARING THE GENERAL DECISION MADE IT LOOK AS THOUGH CONFIDENTIAL

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EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS WERE SUDDENLY EMBARKING ON A COURSE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONRY.

17. PROBLEM OF FRANCE -- LUNS SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK TO THE PROBLEM OF FRENCH BEHAVIOUR IN THE NATO COUNCIL. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE WAS NOT UNHAPPY WITH FRENCH MILITARY COOPERATION, WHICH GOES ON QUITE EFFECTIVELY IN A QUIET WAY. MUCH OF THIS COOPERATION IS NOT KNOWN TO THE CIVILIAN SIDE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT OR TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT NATO, BUT THERE ARE PRACTICAL EVERY-DAY WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WHICH PROCEED REASONABLY SMOOTHLY AND EFFECTIVELY. IT IS FRENCH BEHAVIOUR WITH RESPECT TO GENERAL NATO CONSULTATIONS THAT IS MOST DISTURBING. A GREAT PART OF THIS IN LUNS' MIND IS DUE TO THE PERSONALITY OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, WHO IS CONSTANTLY TRYING TO NARROW THE FOCUS OF CONSULTATION. REFERENCE WAS MADE TO DIFFICULTIES WITH THE FRENCH IN PREPARATIONS FOR THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT, AND LUNS STRESSED THAT THE CONSTANTLY NARROWING PERCEPTIONS OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, AND THE LATTER'S EFFORTS TO RESTRICT THE SUBJECT MATTERS TAKEN UP IN THE COUNCIL, GIVES HIM GREAT CONCERN.

18. SENATOR BYRD ASKED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN GREECE. LUNS RESPONDED THAT UNFORTUNATELY CARAMANLIS IS NOT THE MAN HE WAS 15 YEARS AGO. HIS HEARING IS BAD AND HE DOESN'T WORK AS WELL OR AS PURPOSEFULLY AS HE DID FORMERLY. PERHAPS EVEN MORE WORRISOME, HE SEEMS TO BE IN FRIGHT BEFORE PAPANDREOU AND THE LEFT WING OF GREEK POLITICS. LUNS SAID HE COULD NO LONGER DESCRIBE THE GREEK GOVERNMENT AS

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LIMDIS

A STRONG GOVERNMENT. CARAMANLIS IS VERY EMOTIONAL OVER THE TURKISH EMBARGO ISSUE AND IS EXTREMELY OPPOSED TO LIFTING THE EMBARGO. CARAMANLIS ASSERTS HE HAS NO POWER OVER THE GREEK-AMERICAN LOBBY. HOWEVER, IN LUNS VIEW HE COULD LIVE WITH THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, AND HE HAS ARGUED WITH CARAMANLIS THAT THE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT HAS ACTUALLY BEEN HELD UP BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUING EMBARGO. LUNS EXPRESSED THE CONSIDERED OPINION THAT THE POSITION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES, GREECE AND TURKEY, IN THE ALLIANCE HAS KEPT THEM FROM GOING TO WAR WITH EACH OTHER.

19. IT NOW CAME SENATOR BYRD'S TURN TO SPEAK. WITH RESPECT TO THE TURKISH EMBARGO, HE SAID THAT HE HAD ORIGINALLY VOTED AGAINST LIFTING THE EMBARGO BUT HAS NOW CHANGED HIS MIND. HE SEES LIFTING THE EMBARGO AS IN THE BEST INTEREST OF NATO AND IN THE BEST INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES REGARDLESS OF HOW IT MAY SEEM IN WEST VIRGINIA. HE FINDS THE SITUATION IN THE SENATE WITH RESPECT TO LIFTING THE EMBARGO TO BE ENCOURAGING. HOWEVER THE SITUATION IS VERY CLOSE IN THE HOUSE WITH SUCH AN OPPONENT OF LIFTING THE EMBARGO AS BRADEMANS IN THE HOUSE LEADERSHIP. SENATOR BYRD EXPECTS THE ISSUE TO BE BROUGHT UP BEFORE THE END OF JULY. HE EXPRESSED SYMPATHY WITH LUNS' FORCEFUL PRESENTATION
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ON THE MATTER.

20. NEUTRON WARHEAD -- SENATOR BYRD STATED THAT THE SENATE HAS FAVORED PRODUCTION OF THE NEUTRON WARHEAD. HE STRONGLY SUPPORTS PRODUCTION AND HAS MADE HIS POSITION CLEAR TO PRESIDENT CARTER. THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT DECIDED TO DISPENSE WITH PRODUCTION BUT HAD MERELY DECIDED TO DEFER THE DECISION FOR THE TIME BEING. THIS DECISION SATISFIED SENATOR BYRD FOR THE MOMENT. HOWEVER HE VERY MUCH FAVORS GOING AHEAD WITH MODERNIZATION OF THE LANCE MISSILE AND THE 8-INCH ARTILLERY SHELL, AS WELL

AS TO PREPARE THE NEUTRON CORE EVEN IF WE DO NOT JUST NOW DECIDE TO PRODUCE THE WEAPON. HE WOULD GO AHEAD WITH ALL COMPONENTS. SENATOR BYRD SAID THAT HE WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT EUROPEAN LEADERS COULD HAVE BEEN MORE SUPPORTIVE ON THE NEUTRON ISSUE (LUNS INTERJECTED TO SAY THE SENATOR WAS QUITE RIGHT). IF THAT WAS SO, THE PRESIDENT WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO BE MORE DECISIVE IN SENATOR BYRD'S VIEW.

21. THE SENATOR WENT ON TO EMPHASIZE THAT WE CANNOT AND MUST NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE SOVIET THREAT. HE DESCRIBED THE SOVIETS AS USING MIRRORS TO MAKE YOU SEE WHAT'S NOT THERE WITH REGARD TO THEIR PEACEFUL INTENTIONS. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO HAVE ILLUSIONS ABOUT SOVIET POLICY. HE HOPED SUPPORT WILL GROW FOR THE PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE NEUTRON WARHEAD. THERE IS SOME OPPOSITION TO IT IN THE SENATE, BUT THE MAJORITY IS THERE IF THE PRESIDENT WOULD COME DOWN MORE STRONGLY ON THE ISSUE.

22. SENATOR BYRD CONTINUED, THE PRESIDENT WOULD WANT ME TO SAY, AND I SAY IT ALSO AS MAJORITY LEADER: WE DON'T CONFIDENTIAL

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UNDERESTIMATE THE SOVIETS. WE ARE NOT FOOLED BY THEM. WE WILL STAND BY OUR COMMITMENTS TO WESTERN EUROPE AND WE WILL STAND BY OUR COMMITMENTS TO NATO. WE URGE THAT THERE BE NO LET UP, NO LOOSENING OF THE REINS AS WE MOVE FORWARD ON THE LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM. THE SENATOR COMMENTED TO LUNS THAT HE HAD VERY FAVORABLE REPORTS ON THE SYG'S CONDUCT OF HIS OFFICE. HE TRUSTED LUNS WOULD NOT FAIL TO PUSH VIGOROUSLY ON THE LTDP.

23. SENATOR BYRD EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE SYG'S FULL PRESENTATION OF EUROPEAN SITUATION AND FOR HIS FORTHRIGHT APPROACH. HE SAID HE WOULD CONVEY PRIVATELY TO PRESIDENT CARTER THE SUBSTANCE OF THE CONVERSATION AND WOULD REPORT PUBLICLY WHAT SEEMED APPROPRIATE FROM THE CONVERSATION. HE WOULD ALSO REPORT TO HIS SENATORIAL COLLEAGUES BOTH IN A PUBLIC REPORT AND FURTHER IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS. "YOU AND I ARE ON THE SAME WAVELENGTH", SAID SENATOR BYRD TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL.

24. THE SECRETARY GENERAL MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE RECIPROCATED THE SENATOR'S WARM WORDS AND SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE ONE OR TWO FINAL POINTS. HE SAID THAT HE WAS WORRIED OVER THE STATE OF THE DOLLAR; IT HAS SUNK TOO LOW IN RELATION TO EUROPEAN CURRENCIES. HE WAS ALSO WORRIED OVER THE ENERGY PROBLEM IN THE

UNITED STATES. IT SEEMED TO HIM THERE WAS A DIRECT LINK
BETWEEN THE TWO PROBLEMS.

25. SENATOR BYRD THEN PROVIDED A RATHER DETAILED
DISCUSSION OF THE ENERGY ISSUE. HE POINTED OUT THAT UNDER
THE AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE PROCESS, WHAT HAS HAPPENED HAS
NOT BEEN TOO SURPRISING. WE HAVE BEEN A VERY WASTEFUL

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LIMDIS

COUNTRY IN ENERGY MATTERS. WE ARE NOW DEALING WITH
PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE ACCUMULATED OVER A PERIOD OF AT LEAST
25 YEARS. BOTH PRESIDENTS TRUMAN AND EISENHOWER HAD
ADDRESSED THE PROBLEM OF ENERGY. THE SENATE HAS
ACTUALLY STRENGTHENED THE ORIGINAL ENERGY PROPOSALS
AND PROGRAMS SENT UP BY THE PRESIDENT, ALTHOUGH THERE
HAVE BEEN PROBLEMS IN THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE WITH
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. IN FACT, IT HAS BEEN ONE
BLOODY FIGHT. THE SENATE HAS DIVIDED THE ENERGY PROGRAM
INTO FIVE ELEMENTS AND BY THE END OF JULY THERE SHOULD
BE AGREEMENT ON AT LEAST FOUR OF THE FIVE ELEMENTS.
THE PROBLEM OF THE ENERGY TAX HAS NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED.
BUT AS MAJORITY LEADER HE HOPES TO HAVE AN ENERGY BILL
ON THE PRESIDENT'S DESK BY THE END OF THIS YEAR. IF IT
IS NOT POSSIBLE TO HAVE THE FULL BILL, THEN FOUR OF THE
FIVE ELEMENTS WILL BE THERE.

26. THE SYG THEN REVERTED TO RELATIONS WITH THE
SOVIET UNION AND SAID THAT THE ALLIES ARE GENERALLY
HAPPY OVER THE STRONGER LANGUAGE USED BY THE PRESIDENT
AT ANNAPOLIS IN ADDRESSING THE USSR. IN RESPONSE TO A
QUESTION FROM BYRD AS TO WHETHER ALL ALLIES WERE HAPPY,
LUNS SAID WELL NONE HAD SPOKEN AGAINST THE PRESIDENT'S

POSITION. LUNS CAUTIONED THAT THE SOVIET LEADERS ARE
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A CYNICAL GROUP. THEY ARE NOT TAKEN BY FRIENDLY TALK.
THEY PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF FACTS, AND THEY UNDERSTAND
STRONG TALK. HIS REPORTS ARE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE
NOT BURYING DETENTE AS A POLICY, DESPITE THEIR LOUD
REACTION TO THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

27. THE SECRETARY GENERAL CLOSED THE CONVERSATION BY
SAYING THAT THE ALLIANCE WAS HIGHLY PLEASED WITH
GENERAL HAIG'S PERFORMANCE. HE DESCRIBED HAIG AS
INTELLIGENT AND ARTICULATE, A MAN WHO DEFENDS HIS
POSITIONS WELL. HE IS A "THINKING GENERAL".

28. THE AMBASSADOR'S DINNER ON THE EVENING OF JULY
3 WAS ATTENDED BY SENATOR AND MRS. BYRD AND MEMBERS OF
THE SENATORS STAFF, SYG AND MRS. LUNS, THE ITALIAN
AMBASSADOR, DEAN OF THE NATO CORPS AND HIS WIFE, THE
BRITISH AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS AND THEIR WIVES, THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE NORWEGIAN GENERAL
ZEINER GUNDERSEN AND HIS WIFE, GENERAL HAIG AND HIS
WIFE AND OTHERS. SENATOR BYRD THUS HAD THE OPPORTUNITY
TO EXCHANGE IMPRESSIONS WITH AN IMPORTANT CROSS SECTION
OF THE NATO COMMUNITY. IN HIS AFTER DINNER TOAST
THE SENATOR REPEATED SEVERAL OF THE THEMES OF HIS MORNING
CONVERSATION WITH LUNS AS TO AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO
NATO. HE ALSO SPOKE FIRMLY WITH RESPECT TO THE SALT
NEGOTIATIONS. THE SENATOR SAID HE WANTED TO REASSURE HIS
AUDIENCE THAT THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD
SCRUTINIZE, AND SCRUTINIZE MOST CAREFULLY, EVERY WORD IN
THE TEXT OF ANY SALT AGREEMENT THAT MIGHT BE SENT UP TO
THE SENATE. IT WOULD BE BETTER TO HAVE NO SALT AGREEMENT
THAN A BAD AGREEMENT. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO HAVE
A GOOD SALT AGREEMENT, AND THE SENATE WOULD BE ON GUARD
TO ENSURE THAT IT BE AN AGREEMENT SOUND FROM THE UNITED
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STATES POINT OF VIEW AND FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF OUR
ALLIES. THE SENATE WOULD BE MINDFUL OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES

29. DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT AS APPROPRIATE. BENNETT

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CODELS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978USNATO06660
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780277-0602
Format: TEL
From: USNATO
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780788/aaaacwig.tel
Line Count: 598
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8a72e779-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION H
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 11
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2094396
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VISIT OF SENATE MAJORITY LEADER BYRD TO NATO
TAGS: OREP, US, BE, NATO, (BYRD, ROBERT C)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8a72e779-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014